WITCHCRAFT
Farther Diſplay'd.

CONTAINING

I. An Account of the *Witchcraft* practis'd by JANE WENHAM of *Walkerne*, in *Hertfordſhire*, ſince her Condemnation, upon the Bodies of ANNE THORN and ANNE STREET, and the deplorable Condition in which they ſtill remain.

II. An Anſwer to the moſt general Objections againſt the Being and Power of WITCHES: With ſome Remarks upon the Caſe of JANE WENHAM in particular, and on Mr. Juſtice POWEL's Procedure therein.

To which are added,

The TRYALS of FLORENCE NEWTON, a famous *Iriſh* Witch, at the Aſſizes held at *Cork*, *Anno* 1661; as alſo of two WITCHES at the Aſſizes held at *Bury St. Edmonds* in *Suffolk*, *Anno* 1664, before Sir MATTHEW HALE, (then Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*) who were found guilty and executed.

Now the Works of the Fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe, *Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanneſs, Laſciviouſneſs, Idolatry,* Witchcraft, *&c.* Galat. *Chap.* V. *Verſ.* 19, 20.

LONDON,

Printed for E. CURLL, at the *Dial and Bible* againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleet-Street*, 1712. Price 6 *d.* Where may be had, The TRYAL and PROCEEDINGS at large againſt *Jane Wenham*, at *Hertford*-Aſſizes. Price 6 *d.*

Introduction.

AFTER having, in as plain and clear a Manner as I could, given the World a full and true Account of the Proceedings againſt *Jane Wenham*, I was in hopes that I ſhould have no farther Occaſion to divert my Pen from ſome other much more important Subjects, which I was engag'd in, both by Duty and Inclination.

But being inform'd, that the *Incredulity* of the *Judge*, together with the great Proneneſs of the Age to *Sadduciſm* and Infidelity, had caus'd many Objections to be rais'd againſt that faithful and impartial Relation of *Matter of Fact*, I thought my ſelf oblig'd, for my own Vindication, and that of the Perſons principally concern'd in the Proſecution, not to remain ſilent, when I had ſo much to urge in my Defence.

In order to which, I firſt preſent my Reader with an Abſtract of a famous Tryal of two Witches before the Great and Good Sir *Matthew Hale*, a Man too well known to need any *Encomiums*, either for his *Piety*, or *Knowledge in the Law*; and it is humbly hop'd, that his declar'd Opinion, that *there were really ſuch Perſons as Witches*, will be put in the Ballance with that of Mr. Juſtice *Powel*.

Having alſo, upon reading Mr. *Glanvil*'s Book, met with an Inſtance of a Diſcovery of Witchcraft, almoſt in every Circumſtance agreeing with our Caſe, I thought my ſelf oblig'd to inſert it with Obſervations upon thoſe parts of it which ſo nearly reſemble our particular Caſe, that the one ſeems to be a Copy of the other.

I have alſo, for the Satisfaction of ſome honeſt Gentlemen, who never had any Occaſion to enquire into theſe Matters, and diſbelieve the Being and Power of Witches, upon the Prejudices of Education only, thought fit to repreſent fairly to them all the moſt material Objections that are rais'd againſt the Belief of ſuch Stories, and have endeavour'd to keep my ſelf to ſuch a plain way of ſolving theſe Difficulties, as may be underſtood by ordinary Capacities. For which Reaſon I have induſtriouſly avoided any nice and philoſophical Diſquiſitions relating to the

Nature

Nature and *Being* of *Spirits* in general, and ſuppoſe my Reader to be a Chriſtian, and Believer of the *Holy Scriptures.*

But as I doubt not but thoſe who have read my former Account, would be glad to know in what Condition the two poor afflicted Creatures are in at preſent, ſo I think the Relation of it may poſſibly ſerve to other good Ends, and convince ſome Unbelievers; and therefore I ſhall acquaint my Reader what to my own knowledge has paſs'd ſince the printing of the abovemention'd Narrative, which, tho' not ſworn yet before any Magiſtrate, yet I can aſſure him is nothing but the Truth.

Anne Thorn continues to be frequently troubl'd with the Apparition either of *Jane Wenham* in her own Shape, or that of a Cat, which ſpeaks to her, and tempts her to deſtroy her ſelf with a Knife that it brings along with it. On the 18th of *March* particularly, it came to her, and ſpoke as uſual; upon which *Anne Thorn* fell into a Fit, and recovering by Prayers, ſhe took up the Bible and fell to Reading. While the Book was in her Hands, ſhe perceiv'd ſomething pull it from her, and ſhe was forc'd to let it fall. Three Perſons who were then in the Room with her, took up the Bible and endeavour'd to hold it in her Hands, but all their Strength could not do it, the Book being violently taken away from them, and flung to the Ground. At the ſame Time *Anne Thorn* cry'd out, ſhe was prick'd in the Hand, and when they look'd on her Hand, it bled, and ſeem'd to have been prick'd with a Pen.

Another Thing ſtill more remarkable, happen'd to this unhappy Maid. On *Thurſday* the 27th of *March*, ſhe at firſt perceiv'd a ſtrange Numbneſs in two of her Fingers, which was ſucceeded by a violent Pain in her Wriſt, and in an Hour or two afterward, ſhe could not ſtir her Hand, and her Wriſt ſeem'd to be out of Joint, altho' ſhe knew not how it was hurt. Upon which ſhe was ſent to the Bone-ſetter, who affirm'd that the Bone was above an Inch out of its Place, and did ſet it. When *Anne Thorn* was return'd home, this Cat came again to her, and brought her a Knife, bidding her not mind what thoſe about ſaid to her, but cut her Throat, and ſhe ſhould be well. She has ſeveral Times ſince ſeen the Cat, who brought her once a Razor, and upon her refuſing to take it, the Cat ſaid, I'll go to *Nan Street*, and ſhe will take it; and it was found that exactly at that Time the Cat appear'd to *Anne Street*, and offer'd her a Razor.

This *Anne Street* continues alſo in a ſtrange Condition, and is often troubl'd with the Apparition of this Cat, as alſo of a Dog which accompanies her. On *Thurſday* the 27th of *March*, ſhe ſays, this Dog came to her, bidding her come out; and upon her ſaying her Prayers, he went away for the preſent.

ſent, but in the Afternoon, about five a Clock, ſhe ſaw the Dog again, who bad her follow him to the River, and ſhe ſays he ran before her, and ſhe follow'd him, but before ſhe got to the River, three Men met her, and brought her home, after which ſhe fell into a Fit, and was recover'd by Prayers.

On *Saturday* following, ſhe ſays, ſhe ſaw the Cat again in the Yard, it ſpoke to her, bidding her hang her ſelf with her Garter, or cut her Throat with a Razor; and after the Cat was gone, *Anne Street* was grievouſly pinch'd in the Arm, ſhe knew not how.

The next Day alſo ſhe ſaw the Cat, and was pinch'd; and at Night a Rapping was hear'd at the Window by all that were preſent; after which, a Noiſe was heard as of a Woman crying under the Window, for four Hours together, tho' nothing was to be ſeen.

On *Monday* Night, being the 31ſt, ſhe ſaw *Jane Wenham* again in her own Shape, but ſhe went away upon *Anne Street*'s ſaying her Prayers, and ſhe has not been troubl'd ſince that Time, to this preſent Day, the 3d of *April*.

As for Mother *Wenham*, I hear ſhe has found out a Way to get plenty of Money while ſhe is in Priſon. She ſays ſhe was proſecuted out of Spite, only becauſe ſhe went to the *Diſſenting Meetings*: And by this Means, ſhe gets Contributions from the Party: And of a wicked old Witch, is on a ſudden become a *precious Saint*. This Story put me upon enquiring of Mr. *Gardiner*, whether ſhe had ever been counted a Diſſenter, and he declares, that he never before heard that ſhe us'd to go to any Place of Divine Worſhip, and that he never took her to be of any Religion at all; however, we are very willing to part with her, and wiſh the Fanaticks much Joy of their new Convert.

I ſhall only take Notice of one Thing more to the Reader, *viz.* to aſſure him that neither Mr. *Gardiner*, nor Mr. *Strutt*, had any Hand in writing the Narrative of the Proceedings againſt *Jane Wenham*, altho' they are both Witneſſes to the Truth of it; ſo that ſome Gentlemen (who in Juſtice and Gratitude, as well as good Manners, ought to have held their Tongues) might as well have ſpar'd their *perſonal Reflections*.

Ardely-Bury, April
the 3d, 1712.

F. B.

AN

An Account *of the* TRYAL *of* Amy Duny, *and* Roſe Cullender, *for Witchcraft, at the Aſſizes held at* Bury St. Edmonds, *in* Suffolk, March 10. 1664. *before Sir* Matthew Hale, *Knight, then Lord Chief Baron of the* Exchequer.

AMY *Duny* and *Roſe Cullender*, both of *Leyſtoff*, in *Suffolk*, were ſeverally indicted for bewitching *Elizabeth*, *Anne*, and *William Durent*, *Jane Bocking*, *Suſan Chandler*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey*.

When the Proſecutors were giving Directions for laying the Indictment, three of the afflicted Perſons, *viz. Anne Durent*, *Suſan Chandler*, and *Elizabeth Pacey*, fell into violent Fits, ſcreaming in a diſmal Manner; ſo that they were uncapable of giving their Evidence; and altho' they did at length recover out of their Fits, yet they continu'd ſpeechleſs till the Conviction of the Priſoners.

The firſt Witneſs at the *Tryal*, was *Dorothy Durent*, who depos'd, That about the 10th of *March*, *nono Car.* 2. her Buſineſs calling her from Home, ſhe left her Child, *William Durent*, (then a ſucking Infant) to the Care of *Amy Duny* for a few Hours that ſhe was abſent; but ſtrictly charg'd the ſaid *Amy* not to give it Suck. Being ask'd what need there was of that Caution, *Amy* being an old Woman, and uncapable of giving Suck? She anſwer'd, ſhe knew ſhe could not give Suck; but one Reaſon was, *Amy* had long had the Reputation of a Witch: Another was, it was uſual with old Women, if they tended a ſucking Child, and nothing elſe would pleaſe it, to give it the Breaſt, which muſt be pernicious to the Infant, who ſuck'd nothing but Wind. She ſaid farther, That when ſhe came Home, *Amy* told her, *That ſhe had ſuckl'd her Child*, contrary to her Orders. That upon this, ſhe was very angry with *Amy*, who then threaten'd her in a great Rage, ſaying, *She had better have done ſomething elſe, than*

have found Fault with her, and went away; and that very Night her Child was taken with ſtrange and terrible Fits, and ſo continu'd for ſeveral Weeks.

The ſaid *Dorothy Durent* farther ſaid, That being full of Concern at her Child's Diſorder, ſhe went to one Dr. *Jacob*, who liv'd at *Yarmouth*, a Man famous for curing Perſons bewitch'd. This Man adviſ'd her to hang the Child's Blanket all Day in the Chimney-Corner, and at Night to wrap her Child in it, adviſing her not to be afraid, if ſhe ſaw any Thing in the Blanket, but take it and fling it into the Fire. She did ſo; and at Night, when ſhe look'd into the Blanket, there fell from it a great Toad, which ran about the Floor. A young Man who was with this Examinant, catch'd this Toad, and held it in the Fire with a Pair of Tongs. Immediately it made a great Noiſe, to which ſucceeded a Flaſh like Gun-powder, follow'd by a Report as great as that of a Piſtol; and after this, the Toad was no more ſeen, neither was its Subſtance perceiv'd to conſume in the Fire.

She ſaid farther, That a Neice of the ſaid *Amy Duny*, came to her this Examinant the next Day, and told her, that her Aunt (meaning *Amy*) was in a ſad Condition, her Face being ſcorch'd with Fire, and that ſhe was ſitting alone ſtript to her Smock, without any Fire. That ſhe this Examinant went immediately to *Amy Duny*, and ſaw her Face, Legs, and Thighs much ſcorch'd with Fire. That ſhe ask'd *Amy* how ſhe came in that Condition, *Amy* anſwer'd, *She might thank her for it, ſhe was the Cauſe of it; but ſhe ſhould ſee ſome of her Children dead, and go on Crutches herſelf.* This Examinant ſaid farther, That ſince the burning the Toad, this Child was well, and is yet alive.

She ſaid alſo, That about the 6th of *March*, 11 *Car.* 2. *Elizabeth Durent*, her Daughter, was taken with like Fits with the firſt, and cry'd out, That *Amy Duny* appear'd to her, and tormented her. That ſhe this Examinant going to fetch ſome Phyſick for her Child, when ſhe rerurn'd Home, ſhe found *Amy* there, who ſaid, *She came to ſee her Child, and give it ſome Water.* At which this Examinant was very angry with her, and thruſt her out of the Houſe; upon which *Amy* ſaid, *You need not be ſo angry, your Child will not live long*; which prov'd true, for her Child dy'd in two Days after; and this Examinant really believes, that

that *Amy Duny* did bewitch her Child to Death, she having long had the Reputation of a Witch, and some of her Relations having suffer'd for Witchcraft.

She farther said, That soon after the Death of her Daughter *Elizabeth*, this Examinant was taken lame in both her Legs, and was forc'd to go upon Crutches; which she continu'd to do to this Time. The Court ask'd her, *Whether it were with her, when she was took lame, according to the Custom of Women?* She answer'd, It was, and always was so, but when she was with Child.

So far this Witness. It was remarkable, that altho' she had gone upon Crutches for three Years, and did so at the Assizes, before *Amy Duny* was convicted, yet then she was immediately restor'd to her Strength, and went Home without Crutches.

As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey*, the eldest about 11 Years old, as I said before, was taken with a Fit, and continu'd speechless. While she was in her Fit, she appear'd at first without any Symptom of Life, saving that her Stomach and Belly, when she drew her Breath, would rise to a great Height. Afterwards, when she was a little better, she lean'd her Head upon a Cushion laid over the Bar of the Court, with her Apron over her Head, and her Hand upon it, and continu'd in this Posture, 'till, by Order of the Judge, *Amy Duny* was brought privately to her, and touch'd her Hand; upon which, the Child, whose Eyes had been fast clos'd all this while, flew at *Amy*, and scratch'd her, and was hardly forc'd from her, and afterwards made many Signs of Eagerness to come at her.

Deborah, the youngest, was so ill, that she could not be brought to the Assizes. The Evidence relating to these two, was as follows:

Samuel Pacey, of *Leystoff*, Merchant, (a sober good Man) being sworn, said, That on *Thursday* the 10th of *October* last, his younger Daughter *Deborah*, about nine Years old, was suddenly taken so lame, that she could not stand on her Legs, and so continu'd 'till the 17th of the same Month, when the Child desir'd to be carry'd to a Bank on the *East* Side of the House, looking towards the Sea; and while she was sitting there, *Amy Duny* came to this Examinant's House, to buy some Herrings, but was deny'd. Then she came twice more, but being as often deny'd, she went away discontented and grumbling. At

this Inſtant of Time, the Child was taken with terrible Fits, complaining of a Pain in her Stomach, as if ſhe was prick'd with Pins, ſhrieking out with a Voice like a Whelp, and thus continu'd 'till the 30th of the ſame Month.

In the mean Time, Dr. *Feavor* was ſent for, who declar'd to this Examinant, (and afterwards at the Tryal) That he could not conceive the Cauſe of the Child's Affliction. And farther, this Examinant ſaith, That *Amy Duny* having long had the Reputation of a Witch, and his Child having in the Intervals of her Fits, conſtantly cry'd out on her, as the Cauſe of her Diſorder, and ſaid, that the ſaid *Amy* did appear to her, and fright her. He did ſuſpect the ſaid *Amy Duny* to be a Witch, and charg'd her with being the Cauſe of his Child's Illneſs, and ſet her in the Stocks. That while ſhe was in the Stocks, *Alice Letteridge* and *Jane Buxton*, (who afterwards depos'd the ſame in Court) ask'd *Amy* what was the Reaſon of Mr. *Pacey*'s Child's Illneſs, telling her they heard ſhe had a Hand in't? She anſwer'd, *Mr.* Pacey *keeps a great Stir with his Child, but let him ſtay 'till he has done as much by his Children, as I have done by mine.* Being ask'd what was that, ſhe ſaid, *She had been fain to open her Child's Mouth with a Tap, to give it Victuals.*

He farther ſaid, That two Days after his Daughter, *Elizabeth* was taken with ſuch ſtrange Fits, that they could not force open her Mouth without a Tap, which they were compell'd to uſe; and the younger Child being in the ſame Condition, they us'd to her the ſame Remedy.

He ſaid alſo, That both Children would grievouſly complain, that *Amy Duny*, and another Woman, whoſe Habit and Looks they deſcrib'd, did appear to them, and torment them, and would cry out, *There ſtands* Amy Duny, *There ſtands* Roſe Cullender, the other Perſon who afflicted them.

Their Fits were not alike; ſometimes they were lame on the Right Side, ſometimes on the Left; ſometimes ſo ſore they could not bear to be touch'd; ſometimes perfectly well in other Reſpects, but they could not *hear*; at other Times they could not ſee; ſometimes they loſt their Speech for one, two, and once eight Days together. At times they had ſwooning Fits, and when they could ſpeak, were taken with a Fit of Coughing, and vomited Pieces and crooked Pins, and once a great Two-penny Nail,

Nail, with above 40 Pins, which Nail the Examinant ſaid he ſaw vomited up, and many of the Pins. The Nail and Pins were produc'd in the Court. They uſually vomited a Pin towards the End of a Fit, four or five of which they ſometimes had in a Day.

Thus the Children continu'd for two Months, in which Time this Examinant often made 'em read in the *New Teſtament*, and obſerv'd when they came to the Words *Lord*, *Jeſus*, or *Chriſt*, they could not pronounce them, but fell into a Fit. When they came to the Word *Satan*, or *Devil*, they would point, and ſay, *This bites, but makes me ſpeak right well.* He ſaid, That in the Intervals of the Fits, which he thinks occaſion'd by naming Lord, Jeſus, or Chriſt, he ask'd them why they could not ſpeak thoſe Words, they would ſay, Amy Duny *ſaith I muſt not uſe that Name.*

He ſaid alſo, That his Children would ſay *Amy Duny* often appear'd to 'em, with *Roſe Cullender*, and threaten'd 'em, *That if they told what they ſaw or heard, they would torment 'em ten times more than ever they did before.* That the Children would run to the Place where they fancy'd 'em to be ſometimes ſpinning, ſometimes reeling, in various Poſtures, threatening them.

This Examinant ſaith farther, That finding his Children thus tormented, without Hopes of Recovery, he ſent them to his Siſter *Margaret Arnold*, at *Yarmouth*, being willing to try whether Change of Air would help 'em, and refers to her the Relation of what happen'd to them afterwards.

Margaret Arnold being ſworn, ſaith, That about the 30th of *November*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey* came to her Houſe, with her Brother, who told her what had happen'd at his Houſe, and that he thought his Children bewitch'd; but ſhe this Examinant did not much regard it, ſuppoſing the Children had play'd Tricks, and put the Pins into their Mouths themſelves. She therefore took all the Pins from their Cloths, ſowing them with Thread, inſtead of pinning them. But notwithſtanding, they rais'd at times at leaſt 30 Pins in her Preſence, and had terrible Fits; in which Fits they would cry out upon *Amy Duny* and *Roſe Callender*, ſaying they ſaw them, and heard them threatening as before. That they ſaw Things like Mice running about the Houſe, and one of them catch'd one of them,

them, and throw it into the Fire, which made a Noiſe like a Rat.

Another Time the younger Child being out of Doors, a Thing like a Bee would have forc'd it ſelf into her Mouth, at which the Child ran ſcreaming into the Houſe, and before this Examinant could come to her, fell into a Fit, and vomited a Two-penny Nail with a broad Head; and after that, this Examinant ask'd the Child how ſhe came by this Nail, ſhe anſwer'd, *The Bee brought the Nail, and forc'd it into her Mouth.*

At other times the eldeſt Child told this Examinant, That ſhe ſaw Flies bring her crooked Pins, and then ſhe would fall into a Fit, and vomit ſuch Pins. One time the ſaid Child ſaid ſhe ſaw a Mouſe, and crept under the Table to look for it; and afterwards the Child ſeem'd to put ſomething in her Apron, ſaying, *She had caught it*, and ran to the Fire and threw it in, on which did appear to this Examinant ſomething like a Flaſh of Gun-powder, altho' ſhe does own ſhe ſaw nothing in the Child's Hand.

Once the Child being ſpeechleſs, but otherwiſe very ſenſible, ran up and down the Houſe, crying, *Huſh, huſh*, as if ſhe had ſeen Poultry; but this Examinant ſaw nothing. At laſt the Child catch'd at ſomething, and threw it into the Fire. Afterwards, when the Child could ſpeak, this Examinant ask'd her what ſhe ſaw at that time, ſhe anſwer'd, *She ſaw a Duck.* Another time the youngeſt Child ſaid after a Fit, That *Amy Duny* had been with her, and tempted her to drown herſelf, or cut her Throat, or otherwiſe deſtroy herſelf. Another time they both cry'd out of *Amy Duny* and *Roſe Cullender*, ſaying, *Why don't you come your ſelves? why do you ſend your Imps to torment us?*

This Examinant farther ſaith, That ſhe did ſet down theſe Things as they happen'd, and that ſhe does really believe theſe Children are bewitch'd by *Amy Duny* and *Roſe Cullender*, although at firſt ſhe was not inclinable to think ſo.

Anne Durent was another of the Perſons afflicted, and then preſent in Court.

Her Father, *Edmund Durent*, of *Leyſtoff*, being ſworn, ſaid, That towards the End of *November* laſt, *Roſe Cullender* came to his Houſe to buy Herrings of his Wife, who refus'd to ſet her have any; upon which, the ſaid *Roſe* went away ſeemingly angry. That afterwards, on the 1ſt of

December

December following, *Anne Durent*, his Daughter, complain'd of a ſad Pain in her Stomach, like the pricking of Pins, and ſoon after fell into ſwooning Fits; and upon her Recovery, ſhe cry'd out, that ſhe had ſeen the Apparition of *Roſe Cullender*, who threaten'd to torment her; and thus ſhe continu'd (having vomited up ſeveral Pins, which were produc'd in Court) until the Aſſizes. This *Anne Durent* was then in Court, but could not give her Evidence, by Reaſon of ſtrange Fits ſhe fell into at the Sight of *Roſe Cullender*.

Anne Baldwin being ſworn, teſtify'd the ſame Thing as to *Anne Durent*'s being bewitch'd.

Jane Bocking, another of the afflicted, was ſo ill, that ſhe could not come to the Aſſizes. But as to her

Diana Bocking, of *Leyſtoff*, was ſworn, and ſaid, Her Daughter, *Jane Bocking*, had been formerly troubl'd with Fits, but always recover'd of them; but on the 1ſt of *February* laſt, ſhe complain'd grievouſly of a ſtrange Pain in her Stomach, as if it had been prick'd with Pins, and fell afterwards into a Fit, and had many Returns of theſe Fits 'till this Time, eating little or nought, and often vomited crooked Pins, particularly on *Sunday* laſt ſhe brought up ſeven of them. When ſhe was in her Fits, ſhe would ſpread Abroad her Arms, and uſe Poſtures as if ſhe catched at ſomething, with her Hands open, and then would ſhut 'em again; and upon opening her Hands, crooked Pins were found in 'em, altho' it could not be perceiv'd how they could be brought to her. At another time ſhe talk'd in her Fits as if to ſome Perſon, (altho' ſhe would take no Notice of any that were preſent) then ſhe held out her Hand, ſaying, *I will not have it, I will not have it.* Afterwards ſhe ſaid, *I will*, and ſhut her Hands cloſe, and upon forcing her Hand open, was found in it a Lath-Nail. She often cry'd out in her Fits, *There ſtands* Roſe Cullender *at the Bed's Feet*; ſometimes ſhe ſaid *ſhe ſaw her at the Bed's Head*, and ſometimes in other Places. Afterwards ſhe was ſpeechleſs for ſeveral Days, tho' not in Fits. When ſhe could ſpeak, ſhe deſir'd ſome Meat, and being ask'd why ſhe did not ſpeak in ſo many Days, ſhe ſaid, *Amy Duny would not let her.* The Pins and Nail were ſhewn in Court.

As to *Suſan Chandler*, another of the afflicted, and in Court, her Mother, *Mary Chandler*, being ſworn, ſaid, That

That about the Beginning of *February* last, she was appointed, among five other Women, by Sir *Edmond Bacon*, (who had granted a Warrant against the Prisoners upon the Complaint of Mr. *Pacey*) to search the Bodies of the Prisoners. That they went to *Rose Cullender*, and told her they had Orders to search her Body, which she consented to. That having stript her naked, they began at her Head, and toward the Bottom of her Belly, they found something like a Teat, about an Inch long. Being question'd about it, she said, *She had got a Strain by carrying Water, which was the Cause of that Excrescence.* On farther Search, they found in her Privities more of these Teats, but smaller than the other. This Examinant saith farther, That at the End of the long Teat, was a little Hole, that it seem'd to have been newly suck'd, and it being squeez'd, there came out white Milky Matter.

She said also, That her said Daughter *Susan*, then a Servant in *Leystoff*, and about 18 Years old, having Business to rise the next Morning to wash, saw *Rose Cullender* appear to her, and the said *Rose* took her by the Hand; at which she was much frighted, and came to this Examinant, and told her of it. Then she fell extreamly sick, complaining grievously of her Stomach; and that Night, being in Bed with another young Woman, she shriek'd out, crying *Rose Cullender would come to Bed to her*, and fell into grievous Fits, beating herself in a terrible Manner. In her Intervals, she said sometimes *she saw Rose Cullender*, sometimes *she saw her, and a great Dog with her.* She vomited many crooked Pins, and was sometimes stricken blind, at other times dumb, as she was for the present in Court; but being carry'd out, in half an Hour she recover'd her Speech; and being brought in again, and ask'd whether she could give her Evidence, she said she could. But being sworn, and ask'd what she could say against the Prisoners, she fell into a grievous Fit, and cry'd out, *Burn her, Burn her*; which was all she could say.

Robert Chandler being sworn, agreed with his Wife in all Parts of her Evidence, except that concerning the searching *Rose Cullender.*

This was all the Evidence relating to the bewitching these Children. At the Tryal were many eminent Persons; and among the rest, Mr. Serjeant *Keeling*, who was unsatisfy'd

unsatisfy'd with the Evidence, which he thought not sufficient to convict the Prisoners. For supposing these Persons were bewitch'd, yet their Imagination only was not sufficient to fix it on the Prisoners; else who could be safe, since their Fancies might possibly run on an innocent Person?

The learned Dr. *Browne* of *Norwich*, being also present, was desir'd to give his Opinion of the three Persons in Court. He said he was clearly of Opinion, that they were bewitch'd; that there had lately been a Discovery of Witches in *Denmark*, who us'd the same Way of tormenting Persons, by conveying crooked Pins, Needles, and Nails into their Bodies. That he thought in such Cases the Devil acted upon Human Bodies, by natural Means, *viz.* By exciting and stirring up the super-abundant Humours, he did afflict them in a more surprizing Manner, by the same Diseases their Bodies were usually subject to. That these Fits might be natural, only rais'd to a great Degree, by the Subtilty of the Devil co-operating with the Malice of these Witches.

Besides the above-mention'd Particulars, other Tryals were made to satisfy the Court, that the Children were really bewitch'd.

At first the Prisoners were brought into Court to the afflicted, to touch them; and upon the least Touch of them, (of *Rose Cullender* in particular, tho' before they seem'd void of all Sense, and their Fists were fast clench'd, so that a strong Man could not force them open) they instantly shriek'd out, and open'd their Hands; but when any other Person touch'd 'em, they took no Notice of it; and altho' they were blinded, lest they should privately see, *Rose Cullender*'s touching them had the same Effect.

An ingenious Person that was present, objected, that this Experiment was not sufficient to find the Prisoners guilty, since the Children might counterfeit, and perceiving when she touch'd them, put themselves into those violent Motions.

It was therefore privately desir'd by the Judge, that some eminent Gentlemen in Court would attend one of the distemper'd Persons, while she was in her Fits, at the other End of the Hall, and bring one of the Witches to her, and see what would follow. They did so, and the Maid being blinded, *Amy Duny* was brought near; but another

nother Perſon touch'd her, and the Touch had the ſame Effect with that which the Witches had. Whereupon the Gentlemen return'd, and proteſted they believ'd the whole Buſineſs an Impoſture. This put the whole Court to a Stand. At that, Mr. *Pacey* ſaid, The Maid might be deceiv'd by a Suſpicion, that the Witch touch'd her, when ſhe did not. That he obſerv'd, that in all her Fits, ſhe was ſenſible of what was done to her; which was afterwards confirm'd by the Maid, when ſhe recover'd, on Conviction of the Priſoners. And in ſome Mens Opinion, this was rather a Confirmation that they were really bewitch'd, than a Sign of Fallacy. For it is impoſſible, that Children as they were, and of ſeveral Families no way related to each other, ſhould be able all to deceive their Relations; and 'tis unreaſonable to think, that they ſhould conſpire together to take away the Lives of two ſilly Women; and the Priſoners themſelves did ſcarce ſo much as object that there was any Malice in the Caſe. Therefore, ſay they, that extraordinary Commotion of the Spirits of the Children, at the approach of theſe Women, and no others, ſhows, that they were the Perſons that did bewitch 'em.

Secondly, *John Soam* of *Leyſtoff*, being ſworn, ſaid, That not long ſince he had three Harveſt-Carts going into the Field to load; that one of them wrench'd the Window of *Roſe Cullender*, who came out, and threaten'd him. That the other Carts went well enough, but this was overturn'd twice or thrice that Day. That they could not get it through a Gate, 'till they had cut down the Poſts, altho' the Cart did not touch them; neither could they bring it to the Place where they would unload it, 'till the next Morning; and then they did it eaſily.

Robert Sherringham being ſworn, ſaid, That about two Years ſince the Axle-tree of his Cart broke down part of *Roſe Cullender*'s Houſe; upon which ſhe threaten'd him in a great Rage, that his Horſes ſhould ſuffer for it. That ſoon after all thoſe Horſes, being four, dy'd. That he has ſince had great Loſſes in his Cattel, and was ſhortly after taken lame for ſome Days, and recover'd, but was ſo plagu'd with great Lice, that he was fore'd to burn two Suits of Cloaths, and then was well again.

Richard Spencer being ſworn, ſaid, That on the 1ſt of *September* laſt he heard *Amy Duny* ſay, *That the Devil would*

not

not let her rest, 'till she was reveng'd on Cornelius Sandeswell's *Wife.*

Anne, Wife to *Cornelius Sandeswell*, depos'd on Oath, That seven or eight Years ago, she having bought some *Geese*, *Amy* told her, *If she did not fetch 'em Home, they'd be destroy'd*; which happen'd accordingly. That *Amy* told her Husband, (who was her Landlord) That he must take Care of such a Chimney, or it would fall. That this Examinant repyl'd, *'Twas a new one.* Soon after the Chimney fell down, as *Amy* had said. She said farther, That having a Firkin of Fish sent to her, which lay in *Leystoff* Road, she desir'd *Amy* to go with her, to help bring it Home. *Amy* reply'd, *She would go when she had it.* Then this Examinant said, That she went to the Boat-man, and demanded the Firkin. The Men told her, *They could not keep it in the Boat from falling into the Sea, they thought 'twas gone to the Devil, they never saw the like before.* She ask'd them whether they lost any other Goods? They said, *Not any.*

This was all the Evidence. The Prisoners saying nothing material to any Thing that was prov'd against them, the Judge, in his Direction to the Jury, wav'd repeating the Evidence, to avoid any Mistake, and told the Jury there were two Things they were to enquire into, *First*, Whether or no these Children were bewitch'd. *Secondly*, Whether these Women did bewitch them.

He said he did not in the least doubt but there were Witches: *First*, Because the Scriptures affirm it. *Secondly*, Because the Wisdom of all Nations, particularly our own, hath provided Laws against Witchcraft; which implies their Belief of such a Crime. He desir'd them strictly to observe the Evidence, and begg'd of God to direct their Hearts in the weighty Concern they had in Hand, since to condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, are both an Abomination to the Lord.

The Jury went from the Bar, and in half an Hour brought them in guilty of all the Indictments, being thirteen in Number.

The next Morning the three Children came to Sir *Matthew Hale*'s Lodgings very well: And Mr. *Pacey* being asked at what Time they were thus restor'd to their Speech and Health, he answer'd, That within half an Hour after the Conviction of the Prisoners, they were all restor'd to

Health, and ſlept well that Night, without Pain, except *Suſan Chandler*, who complain'd of a Pain like pricking of Pins in her Stomach.

After this, they came into Court; but *Anne Durent* was afraid to look on the Witches, and pray'd that ſhe might not ſee them. But the other two declar'd in open Court, before the Priſoners, (who did not much contradict them) that all that had been ſworn to, was true. After this, the whole Court being ſatisfy'd with the Verdict, the Witches were ſentenc'd to be hang'd.

Great Endeavours were us'd to bring them to Confeſſion, but in vain, and they were executed on *Monday* the 17th of *March*, but confeſs'd nothing.

Obſervations on the foregoing Tryal of Amy Duny *and* Roſe Cullender.

IT is very probable, that Mr. Juſtice *Powell* had never ſeen this Tryal, when he ſaid in that of Mother *Wenham*, *That he never heard, that in any Witch's Tryal before, the afflicted Perſons fell into a Fit in Court.* For here the Reader ſees, that three Perſons diſturb'd, all fell into Fits at the Sight of the Priſoners; which was exactly the Caſe of *Anne Thorn.* She was to all Appearance very well in the Morning, 'till ſhe ſaw the wicked Author of her Torments in Court; and then ſhe fell into a Fit, as is related, p. 24. of the *Account of the Diſcovery of Sorcery*, &c.

But this Circumſtance is not the only one in which theſe two Caſes agree: For 1. As *Durent*'s Child's Fits immediately ſucceeded upon *Amy Duny*'s threatening her, *That ſhe had as good have done otherwiſe, as have found Fault with her*; ſo in our Caſe, immediately before *Anne Thorn*'s firſt Fit, *Jane Wenham* threaten'd Mr. *Gardiner*, as you may ſee p. 3. and before the ſecond ſhe had threaten'd *Anne Thorn* herſelf, *That if ſhe told any more ſuch Stories of her, as if ſhe had bewitch'd her, it ſhould be worſe with her, than it had been yet*, p. 5. to ſay nothing of her threatening her after Condemnation, that *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street ſhould not be well yet*; which has exactly come to paſs ſince.

2. Theſe

2. These two Cases agree also in the Circumstance of the Witches appearing to the Afflicted, before a Fit, in her own Shape; and the very remarkable Passage of Pins being convey'd by invisible Means to the Hands of the Persons afflicted, is so exactly resembling the Case of *Anne Thorn*, that they seem to be the same Story. If the Reader will compare the Evidence of *Diana Becking* in this Tryal, with p. 19 of the Account, he will find they are so very much alike, that the one seems to be a Copy of the other.

Then their starting up with great Strength and Fury upon the Touch of the Witch, is the same in both Cases, their endeavouring to get at her to scratch her; their continual crying out of her, or them: But there is this Difference in Favour of *Anne Thorn*, that she never recovered upon the Touch of any other Person, altho' she could not tell whether it was not the real Witch, her Eyes being fast clos'd; whereas one of the distemper'd Persons in this Tryal being blinded, and supposing the Witch touched her, sprung up as usual; when in Truth it was not the Witch, but another Person that touch'd her.

That part of *Margaret Arnold*'s Evidence concerning *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacey*, that *Amy Duny* had been *with* Deborah Pacey, *and tempted her to drown herself, or to cut her Throat, or otherwise to destroy herself*, is but too nearly resembl'd in the violent Temptations both *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street* have all along since their Illness struggl'd with, to destroy themselves; and this they have been tempted to do sometimes by the Apparition of *Jane Wenham* in her own Shape, at other times by the *Cat*, which speaks to them, bidding *'em not mind what their Friends say to them, but kill themselves, and they should be well.*

When the Reader compares the Evidence given at these two Tryals, he must needs perceive a vast Superiority of Strength in that of Mother *Wenham*. That which fix'd these Witchcrafts upon *Amy Duny* and the other, was chiefly the strong Imagination of the Parties afflicted, who cry'd out in their Fits, that these Women did appear to them, and torment 'em. There were indeed other Circumstances, such as their threatening the Relations of the Afflicted, *&c.* but this was the most material Proof. Now, the Prosecutors of *Jane Wenham* did not only bring all these Proofs, but strengthen'd them beyond

yond Contradiction by the Confeſſion of the Priſoner herſelf, which was at large atteſted upon Oath by two reverend and worthy Divines.

I was very well pleas'd to find, upon reading this Tryal, that Sir *Matthew Hale* declar'd himſelf clearly of Opinion, that there were ſuch Creatures as Witches upon the Authority of the Scriptures, as well as the Laws of all Nations, who would not have unanimouſly agreed in providing proportionable Puniſhments for the Offence, had they not been perſwaded, that there really was ſuch a Crime as Witchcraft. I ſhall now ſubjoin another very remarkable Inſtance of a Tryal, which in many Circumſtances comes ſtill nearer to the Caſe of *Jane Wenham*. It is taken out of the Collection of *Relations* at the End of Mr. *Glanvill's Sadduciſmus Triumphatus*; together with Obſervations on ſuch Parts of it as reſemble *Wenham's* Caſe.

An Abſtract of the Relation of the Proceedings againſt Florence Newton, *an* Iriſh *Witch of* Youghall, *taken out of her Tryal at the Aſſizes held for the County of* Cork, September 11. 1661.

Florence Newton was committed to *Youghall* Priſon by the Mayor of the Town, *March* 24. 1661. for bewitching *Mary Longdon*, who gave Evidence againſt her at *Cork* Aſſizes, as follows:

Mary Longdon being ſworn, and examin'd what ſhe could ſay againſt the ſaid *Florence Newton*, for any Practice of Witchcraft on herſelf; and being bid to look on the Priſoner, her Countenance chang'd very pale, and ſhe was afraid to look towards her; but at laſt ſhe did. Being ask'd whether ſhe knew her? ſhe ſaid *ſhe did, and wiſh'd ſhe never had.* Being ask'd how long ſhe had known her? ſhe ſaid, for three or four Years; and that at *Chriſtmas* laſt the ſaid *Florence* came to the Deponent, at the Houſe of *John Pyne* of *Youghall*, where the Deponent was a Servant, and ask'd her to give her a Piece of Beef out of the Powdering-Tub. And the Deponent anſwering her

her ſhe could not give away her Maſter's Beef, the ſaid *Florence* ſeem'd to be angry, and ſaid, *Thou had'ſt as good have given it me*; and ſo went away grumbling.

Obſervation.

The Reader is deſir'd to look back to p. 1. of the Account of *Jane Wenham, where he will find ſomething very like this in the Information of* Matthew Gilſton.

Mary Longdon *goes on, and ſaith,*

That about a Week after, this Deponent going to the Water with a Pail of Cloaths on her Head, ſhe met the ſaid *Florence Newton*, who came full in her Face, and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kiſs'd her, ſaying, Mary, *I pray thee, let thee and I be Friends; for I bear thee no ill Will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none.* And that ſhe the Deponent went afterwards Home, and that within a few Days after, ſhe ſaw a Woman with a Vail over her Face ſtanding by her Bed Side, and one ſtanding by her like a little old Man in Silk Cloaths; and that this Man, which ſhe took be a Spirit, drew the Veil from the old Woman's Face, and then ſhe knew it to be Goody *Newton*; and that the Spirit ſpake to this Deponent, and would have had her promiſe him to follow his Advice, and ſhe ſhould have all Things after her own Heart. To which ſhe anſwer'd, *That ſhe would have nothing to ſay to him, but put her Truſt in the Lord.*

Obſervation.

How very like is this Hypocriſy of Mother Newton, *who, to gain a greater Power to do Miſchief, pretended a Deſire to be reconcil'd to* Mary Longdon, *is to that Part of* Suſan Aylott's *Information, p.* 13. *of the* Account, *wherein ſhe ſaith,* That *Jane Wenham* came to her Houſe, and look'd upon a Child which was in her Lap, and ſtrok'd it, and ſaid, *Suſan,* you have a curious Child; you and I had ſome Words, but I hope we are Friends, *&c. Soon after which the Child dy'd ſtrangely. The Woman in the Veil here mention'd, cannot but bring to Mind the Woman in the Riding-Hood, who appear'd to* Matthew Gilſton, *p.* 1. *and* Anne Thorn, *p.* 4. *and* 8. *and the Spirits ſpeaking to* Mary Longdon, *and tempting her, is almoſt the ſame with the Cat's ſpeaking to* Anne Thorn *and* Anne Street, *tempting them to come out, p.* 23 *and* 36.

Mary

Mary Longdon *proceeds, and ſaith,*

That within a Month after the ſaid *Florence* had kiſs'd her, ſhe this Deponent fell very ill of Fits and Trances, which would take her on the Sudden, in that Violence that three or four Men could not hold her; and in her Fits ſhe would often be taken with Vomitings, and would vomit up Needles, Pins, Horſe-Nails, Stubs, Wooll, and Straw. And being ask'd whether ſhe perceiv'd at theſe times what ſhe vomited? She ſaid, *She did; for ſhe was not then in ſo great a Diſtraction, as in other Parts of her Fits ſhe was.* And that a little before the firſt Beginning of her Fits, ſeveral (and very many ſmall) Stones would fall upon her as ſhe went up and down, and would follow her from Place to Place, and from one Room to another, and would hit her on the Head, Shoulders, and Arms, and fall to the Ground, and vaniſh away. And that ſhe and ſeveral others would ſee them both fall upon her, and on the Ground, but could never take them, ſave only ſome few, which ſhe and her Maſter caught in their Hands. Amongſt which, one that had a Hole it it, ſhe ty'd (as ſhe was advis'd) with a Leather Thong to her Purſe, but it vaniſh'd immediately, tho' the Leather continu'd ty'd on a faſt Knot.

That in her Fits ſhe often ſaw this *Florence Newton*, and cry'd out againſt her, for tormenting her; for ſhe ſays that ſhe would ſeveral times ſtick Pins into her Arms, and ſome of them ſo faſt, that a Man muſt pluck three or four Times to get out the Pin, and they were ſtuck between the Skin and the Fleſh. That ſometimes ſhe ſhould be remov'd out of her Bed into another Room; ſometimes ſhe ſhould be carry'd to the Top of the Houſe, and laid on a Board betwixt two ſolar Beams; ſometimes put into a Cheſt, ſometimes under a Parcel of Wooll, ſometimes between two Feather Beds on which ſhe us'd to lie, and ſometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Maſter's Chamber in the Day-time. Being ask'd how ſhe knew ſhe was thus carry'd about and diſpos'd of, ſeeing in her Fits ſhe was in a violent Diſtraction, ſhe anſwered, *She never knew where ſhe was, 'till they of the Family, and the Neighbours with them, would be taking her out of the Places whither ſhe was ſo carry'd and remov'd.* And being ask'd the Reaſon why ſhe cry'd out ſo much againſt *Florence Newton* in her Fits? ſhe anſwer'd, *Becauſe ſhe ſaw and felt her Torturing.*

And

And being ask'd how she could think it was *Florence Newton* that did her this Prejudice, she said, first, Because she threaten'd her; then, because after she had kiss'd her, she fell into these Fits, and that she both saw and felt her tormenting. And lastly, That when the People of the Family, by Advice of the Neighbours, and Consent of the Mayor, had sent for *Florence Newton* to come to the Deponent, she was always worse when she was brought to her, and her Fits more violent, than at another time. And that after the said *Florence* was committed at *Youghall*, the Deponent was not troubl'd, but was very well 'till a little while after the said *Florence* was remov'd to *Cork*, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Mayor of *Youghall*, one Mr. *Mayre*, then sent to know whether the said *Florence* were bolted (as the Deponent was told) and finding she was not, Order was given to put the Bolts on her; which being done, the Deponent saith she was well again, and so hath continu'd ever since. And being ask'd whether she had such like Fits before the said *Florence* gave her the Kiss, she saith she never had any, but believes that with that Kiss she bewitch'd her. And the rather, because she hath heard from *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, that the said *Florence* hath confess'd as much.

Observation.

Here are also some Things in which the Fits of Mary Longdon *and* Anne Thorn *agree, particularly the great Strength of the Afflicted when in a Fit, so great that three or four Men could hardly hold 'em down. But there is one very remarkable Difference which I doubt not but my Reader has already taken Notice of,* viz. *That this* Mary Longdon *was always* worse *of her Fits whenever* Florence Newton *came into the Room; whereas* Anne Thorn *constantly* recover'd *of her's at the Touch of* Jane Wenham. *And yet I think these different Appearances may be both accounted for the same Way. It is not reasonable to suppose, that either of these Alterations in the Afflicted, came to pass by the Consent or Procurement of the* Witches *themselves, who could not but perceive that they serv'd as strong Circumstances against them; but this was done by the over-ruling Providence of Almighty God, to convict these miserable Creatures; and either of these Ways might do as well as the other, since it is equally surprizing to see one in perfect Health fall into such terrible Fits at the Sight of any one Person, as to*

see another recover out of such Fits upon the bare Touch of a suspected Witch; both of them tending only to the Discovery of the Criminal. Thus Anne Thorn *fell into a Fit in Court, when she first saw the Witch, but recover'd at her coming near to her. Here also the Reader finds some strange Circumstances, as that of the Hail-stones falling upon* Mary Longdon, *her being remov'd up and down,* &c. *which are different from any related in the Case of* Anne Thorn. *But it cannot be expected, that all Witchcrafts should be alike; and that the Devil should be oblig'd to act always uniformly, is a very strange* Postulatum, *which yet some of our profound Arguers against Witchcraft very unreasonably demand.*

To go on with the Relation.

This *Mary Longdon* having clos'd up her Evidence, *Florence Newton* peep'd at her, as it were, between the Heads of the By-standers that interpos'd between her and the said *Mary*, and lifting up both her Hands together as they were manacl'd, cast them in an angry violent Kind of Motion (as was seen and observ'd by *W. Acton*) towards the said *Mary*, as if she intended to strike at her, if she could reach her, and said, *Now she is down.* Upon which, the Maid fell suddenly to the Ground like a Stone, and fell into a most violent Fit, that all the People that could come to lay Hands on her, could scarce hold her, she biting her own Arms, and shricking out in a most hideous Manner, to the Amazement of all the Beholders. And continuing so for about a Quarter of an Hour, (the said *Florence Newton* sitting by herself all that while, pinching her own Hands and Arms, as was sworn by some that observ'd her) the Maid was order'd to be carry'd out of the Court, and taken into an House; whence several Persons after that brought Word, that the Maid was in a vomiting Fit, and they brought in several crooked Pins, and Straws, and Wooll, in white Foam like Spittle, in great abundance: Whereupon the Court having taken Notice that the Maid had said she had been very well when the said *Florence* was in Bolts, demanded of the Gaoler if she were in Bolts or no: To which he said she was not, but only manacl'd.

Upon which, Order was given to put on her Bolts; and upon putting them on, she cry'd out, she was kill'd, she was undone, she was spoil'd; why do you torment me thus?

thus? and so continu'd complaining grievously for about half a Quarter of an Hour; and then came in a Messenger from the Maid, and inform'd the Court the Maid was well. At which *Florence* immediately and cholerickly utter'd these Words, *She is not well yet.* And being demanded how she knew she was not well, she deny'd she said so, tho' many in Court heard her say the Words; and she said, if she did, she knew not what she said, being old, and distracted with her Sufferings. But the Maid being reasonably well come to herself, was, before the Court knew any Thing of it, sent out of the Town to *Youghall*, and so was no farther examin'd by the Court. This Fit of the Maid being urg'd by the Court with all the Circumstances of it, to have been a Continuance of her Devilish Practice, she deny'd it, and likewise the Motion of her Hands, or the saying, *Now she is down*; tho' the Court saw the first, and the Words were sworn by one *Roger Moor*. And *Thomas Harrison* swore, That he had observ'd the said *Florence* peep at her, and use that Motion with her Hands, and saw the Maid fall down immediately upon that Motion, and heard the Words, *Now she is down*, utter'd.

Observation.

In nothing more does Jane Wenham *resemble* Florence Newton, *than in her impudent Lying backwards and forwards, which was observ'd by all that talk'd with her while she was under Examination, and even since her Condemnation, she cannot leave it of, but it is every Day taken Notice of by all that come near her.*

But to go on with this Relation.

Nicholas Stout was next produc'd by Mr. Attorney-General, who being sworn and examin'd, said, That he had oft try'd her, having heard say that Witches could not say the Lord's Prayer, whither she could say that Prayer or not, and found she could not; whereupon she said she could say it, and had often said it; and the Court being desir'd by her to hear her say it, gave her Leave; and four times together after these Words, [*give us this Day our daily Bread*] she continually said, *As we forgive them*, leaving out the Words, [*And forgive us our Trespasses*] upon which the Court appointed one to teach her these Words she so left out: But she either could not, or would not say them, using only these or the like Words, *Aye, aye,*

Treſpaſſes; that's the Words. And being oft preſs'd to utter the Words as they were repeated to her, ſhe did not: And being ask'd the Reaſon, ſhe ſaid ſhe was old, and had a bad Memory; and being ask'd how her Memory ſerv'd her ſo well for other Parts of the Prayer, and only fail'd her for that, ſhe ſaid ſhe knew not, neither could ſhe help it.

Obſervation.

In the Account above refer'd to p. 10 *and* 12, *the Reader will find that this was exactly the Caſe with* Jane Wenham. *When ſhe came to this very Petition, ſhe could not repeat it; no, not after another who rehears'd it ſlowly to her. 'Tis true, this Experiment was not made in Court, the Judge thinking fit to wave it, altho' it was deſir'd by Mrs.* Gardiner, *towards the End of the Tryal. Neither did Mother* Wenham *care for it herſelf, having ſo often found herſelf foil'd at this Petition, and that,* Lead us not into Temptation, *&c. tho' her Memory was as good as* Florence Newton's *as to the reſt of the Prayer.*

To proceed with the Tryal of Florence.

John Pyne being likewiſe ſworn and examin'd, ſaid, That about *January* laſt *Mary Longdon*, being his Servant, was much troubl'd with little Stones that were thrown at her wherever ſhe went, and that he hath ſeen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropp'd on her; and that he hath ſeen very great Quantities of them, and that they would, after they had hit her, fall on the Ground, and then vaniſh, ſo that none of them could be found. And farther, That the Maid once caught one of them, and he himſelf another, and one of them with a Hole in it, ſhe ty'd to her Purſe, but it vaniſh'd in a little Time, but the Knot of the Leather that ty'd it, remain'd unalter'd. That after the Stones had thus haunted her, ſhe fell into moſt grievous Fits, wherein ſhe was ſo violently diſtracted, that four Men would have very much to do to hold her; and that in the greateſt of her Extremities, ſhe would cry out of Gammar *Newton* for hurting and tormenting of her. That ſometimes the Maid would be reading in a Bible, and on the ſudden he hath ſeen the Bible ſtruck out of her Hand into the middle of the Room, and ſhe immediately was caſt into a violent Fit. That in the Fits he hath ſeen two Bibles laid on her Breaſts, and in the Twinkling of an Eye, they would be caſt

caſt between the two Beds the Maid lay upon, ſometimes thrown into the middle of the Room, and that *Nicholas Pyne* held the Bible in the Maid's Hand ſo faſt, that it being ſuddenly ſnatch'd away, two of the Leaves were torn. That in many other Fits the Maid was remov'd ſtrangely in the Twinkling of an Eye, out of the Bed, ſometimes into the bottom of a Cheſt with Linnen, and the Linnen not at all diſorder'd, ſometimes betwixt the two Beds ſhe lay on, ſometimes under a Parcel of Wooll, ſometimes betwixt his Bed and the Mat of it in another Room, and once ſhe was laid on a ſmall Deal Board which lay on the Top of an Houſe betwixt two ſolar Beams, where he was forc'd to rear up Ladders to have her fetch'd down. That in her Fits ſhe hath often vomited up Wooll, Pins, Horſe-Nails, Stubs, Straw, Needles, and Moſs, with a kind of white Foam or Spittle, and hath had ſeveral Pins ſtuck into her Arms and Hands, that ſometimes a Man muſt pull three or four times before he could pull one of them out, and ſome have ſtuck between the Fleſh and the Skin, where they might be perfectly ſeen, but not taken out, nor any Place ſeen where they were put in. That when the Witch was brought into the Room where ſhe was, ſhe would be in more violent and longer-laſting Fits than at other Times. That all the Time the Witch was at Liberty, the Maid was ill, and that as ſoon as ſhe was committed and bolted, ſhe recover'd and was well; and that when the Witch was remov'd to *Cork*, the Maid fell ill; and thereupon the Mayor of *Youghall* ſent to ſee whether ſhe was bolted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid was ill, and deſire them, if the Witch were not bolted, they would bolt her. That ſhe immediately recover'd, and was as well as ever; and when the Meſſenger came from *Cork*, and told them the Witch was bolted, it fell out to be the very Time the Maid amended at *Youghall*.

Nicholas Pyne being ſworn, ſaid, That the ſecond Night that the Witch was in Priſon, being the 24th of *March* laſt, he and *Joſeph Thomſon*, *Roger Hawkins*, and ſome others, went to ſpeak with her concerning the Maid, and told her, that it was the general Opinion of the Town that ſhe had bewitch'd her, and deſir'd her to deal freely with them, whether ſhe had bewitch'd her or no? She ſaid ſhe had not bewitch'd her, but it may be ſhe had overlook'd her, and that there was a great deal of Difference

rence between bewitching and overlooking; and that she could not have done her any Harm, if she had not touch'd her, and therefore she had kiss'd her. And she said, that what Mischief she thought upon at that Time she kiss'd her, would fall upon her; and that she would not but confess, that she had wrong'd the Maid, and thereupon fell down on her Knees, and pray'd God to forgive her wronging the poor Maid. They wish'd that she might not be wholly destroy'd by her; to which she said it must be another that must help her, and not they that did the Harm. And then she said there were others, as Goody *Halfpenny* and Goody *Dod*, in Town, that could do these Things as well as she, and that it might be one of them that had done the Maid Wrong.

Observation.

All this last Paragraph (altering only the Names) is true of Jane Wenham. *She confess'd to several, that she had* look'd *upon* Anne Thorn; *which dark Expression, I must own, I was at a Loss to understand, 'till this very Passage explain'd it to me. I see now by it, that this is a Term of Art among the Witches, by which 'tis probable they mean some less Degree of mischievous enchanting; whereas, according to Mother* Newton, *the Word* Bewitching *seems to signify something still greater, perhaps hurting even to Death. Whatever be its Meaning, I declare that I very well remember* Jane Wenham's *saying* that she had look'd upon Anne Thorn. *The Conjecture of the Editor of this Edition of Mr.* Glanvill's *Book, in his Advertisement annex'd to this Relation, seems to be, that this* overlooking, *or (in* Jane Wenham's *Expression)* looking upon, *relates to* Ὀφθαλμὸς βάσκανος, *and that the Magical Venom came out at her Eyes when she kiss'd the Maid. And he leaves it to the Criticks in that black School, to determine whether this* Ὀφθαλμὸς βάσκανος *be not the first Sort of Witchcraft, distinct from that of bewitching People by* Images *made of* Wax; *and whether afterwards this Sort of bewitching by meer* looking *or* touching, *might not be call'd* overlooking. *To which I add, that it is a common Expression almost in every Body's Mouth, when they speak of a Person suppos'd to be bewitch'd, that he or she lies under* an ill Tongue; *and why they may not as well say under* an evil Eye, *as an ill Tongue, I do not see any Reason. However, I offer this only as Conjecture, and proceed farther to observe the Agreement of this whole Paragraph,*

ragraph, with the Case of Jane Wenham. *Mother* Newton *here confesses, that she had done Wrong to the Maid. This also did Goody* Wenham, *and often would fall on her Knees, and pray to God to forgive her what she had done. Mother* Wenham *was desir'd to help* Anne Thorn *if she could; but she said she could not, for another was as deep in it as herself; and as* Florence Newton *nam'd two of her Neighbours, so did* Jane Wenham *also name three Women of* Walkerne, *as her Confederates, but could prove nothing upon 'em. I must needs say, when I first read this Story of* Florence Newton, *which was not 'till after* Jane Wenham's *being committed to Goal, I was not a little surpriz'd to find such almost exact Agreement between it, and those Passages to which I was an Eye and Ear Witness; and it serv'd to me, as I doubt not but it will to the Reader, as a strong Argument of the Being of Witches. For how should two old Women, accus'd of a Crime merely imaginary, in distant Times and Nations, agree so exactly in a Term of Art, which is suppos'd peculiar to those who are guilty of that Crime? How, I say, could this be, if there were no real Foundation for it, no Ground at all for this critical Distinction, between bewitching and overlooking.*

Let us now go on with the Relation.

Nicholas Pyne farther saith, That towards Evening the Door of the Prison shook, and she arose up hastily, and said, *What makest thou here at this Time of the Night?* And there was a very great Noise, as if Somebody with Bolts and Chains had been running up and down the Room. And they ask'd her what it was she spoke to? and what it was that made the Noise? She said she saw nothing, neither did she speak, and if she did, it was she knew not what. But the next Day she confess'd it was a Spirit and her Familiar, in the Shape of a Greyhound.

That he and Mr. *Edward Perry*, and others, took a Tile off the Prison next to the Place where the Witch lay, and carry'd it to the House where the Maid liv'd, and put it into the Fire 'till it was red-hot, and then dropt some of the Maid's Water upon it, and the Witch was then grievously tormented; and when the Water was consum'd, she was well again.

Observation.

The Reader will find, p. 20 of our Account, just such another Experiment made at Walkerne, *in which they also made use of the*

the Maid's Water, only inſtead of dropping it on a Tile, they put it into a Stone Bottle; and it was obſerv'd, that while it was over the Fire, the Witch ſeem'd in great Torture.

Nicholas Pyne *farther ſaith,*

That as to the Stones falling on, and caſt at the Maid, as to the Maid's Fits, her Removal into the Cheſt, under the Wooll, betwixt the Feather Beds, on the Top of the Deal Board, betwixt two ſolar Beams, concerning the Bibles and their Remove, his holding one of them in the Maid's Hand 'till two Leaves were torn, concerning the Maid's vomiting, and her calling out againſt the Witch, he agreeth perfectly throughout with *John Pyne*, as before.

Edward Perry being likewiſe ſworn, depoſeth, That he, Mr. *Greatrix*, and Mr. *Blackwall*, went to the Maid, and Mr. *Greatrix* and he had read of a Way to diſcover a Witch, which he would put in Practice. And ſo they ſent for the Witch, and ſet her on a Stool, and a Shoemaker, with a ſtrong Awl, endeavour'd to ſtick it in the Stool, but could not 'till the third Time; and then they bad her come off the Stool, but ſhe ſaid ſhe was very weary, and could not ſtir. Then two of them pull'd her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awl, and it dropt into his Hand with half an Inch broke off the Blade of it, and they all look'd to have found where it had been ſtuck, but could find no Place where any Entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl, and put it into the Maid's Hand, and one of them took the Maid's Hand, and ran violently at the Witch's Hand with it, but could not enter it, tho' the Awl was ſo bent, that none of them could put it ſtrait again. Then Mr. *Blackwall* took a Launce and launc'd one of her Hands an Inch and half long, and a quarter deep, but it bled not at all; then he launc'd the other Hand, and then they bled.

Obſervation.

Here again Florence Newton *and* Jane Wenham *agree in the Difficulty there was in fetching Blood of either of them. Page 19 of* the Account, *the Reader may ſee, that Mr.* Chauncy *ſtuck ſeveral Pins into* Jane Wenham's *Arms, and one up to the Head, yet no Blood follow'd, neither did She ſeem ſenſible of any Pain.*

Edward

Edward Perry farther ſaith, That after ſhe was in Priſon, he went with *Roger Hawkins*, and others, to diſcourſe with the Witch about the Maid, and they ask'd what it was ſhe ſpake to the Day before? and after ſome Denyal, ſhe ſaid it was a Greyhound, which was her Familiar, and went out at the Window; and then ſhe ſaid, *If I have done the Maid Hurt, I am ſorry for it.* And being then ask'd whether ſhe had done her any Hurt? ſhe ſaid ſhe never did bewitch her, but confeſs'd ſhe had overlook'd her, at the Time ſhe kiſs'd her, but that ſhe could not now help her; for none could help that did the Miſchief, but others. And farther the Deponent ſaith, That after at the Aſſize at *Caſhal*, he meeting with one *William Lap*, and diſcourſing about theſe Paſſages with him, the ſaid *Lap* told the Deponent, that if he would but take a Tile off the Houſe near the Place where the Witch lay, and heat it red hot in the Fire, and then take ſome of the Maid's Water and drop upon it, that ſo long as this was doing, he ſhould find the Witch grievouſly tormented. That afterwards he, *Edward Perry*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, put this in Practice, and found that the Witch was extreamly tormented and vex'd, and when the Experiment was over, ſhe came to her ſelf; and then they ask'd her how ſhe came to hurt the Maid? and ſhe ſaid, That what Evil ſhe thought againſt the Maid that Time ſhe kiſs'd her, that would fall upon her; and that ſhe could not have hurt her, except ſhe had touch'd her; and then ſhe fell upon her Knees, and confeſs'd ſhe had wrong'd the Maid, and deſir'd God to forgive her. And then they put her upon ſaying the Lord's Prayer, but ſhe could not ſay the Words, *And forgive us our Treſpaſſes.*

Mr. *Wood*, a Miniſter, being likewiſe ſworn and examin'd, depoſeth, That having heard of the Stones dropt and thrown at the Maid, and of her Fits, and meeting with the Maid's Brother, he went along with him to the Maid, and found her in her Fit, crying out of Gammar *Newton*, that ſhe prick'd her, and hurt her. And when ſhe came to her ſelf, he ask'd her what had troubl'd her? and ſhe ſaid, Gammar *Newton*. And the Deponent ſaid, *Why? ſhe was not there. Yes*, ſaid ſhe, *I ſaw her by my Bedſide.* The Deponent then ask'd her the Original of all, which ſhe related, from the Time of her begging the Beef, and after kiſſing her, and ſo to that Time. That then

they caus'd the Maid to be got up, and ſent for *Florence Newton*, but ſhe refus'd to come, pretending ſhe was ſick, tho' indeed it appear'd ſhe was well. Then the Mayor of *Youghall* came in, and ſpoke with the Maid, and then ſent again, and caus'd *Florence Newton* to be brought in, and immediately the Maid fell into her Fit far more violent, and three times as long as at any other Time; and all the Time the Witch was in the Chamber, the Maid cry'd out continually of being hurt here and there, but never nam'd the Witch, but as ſoon as ſhe was remov'd, then ſhe cry'd out againſt her by the Name of Gammar *Newton*, and this for ſeveral times. And ſtill, when the Witch was out of the Room, the Maid would deſire to go to Prayers, and he found good Affections in her in Time of Prayer; but when the Witch was brought in again, tho' never ſo privately, altho' ſhe could not poſſibly, as the Deponent conceives, ſee her, ſhe would be immediately ſenſeleſs, and like to be ſtrangl'd, and ſo would continue 'till the Witch was taken out; and then, tho' never ſo privately carry'd away, ſhe would come again to her Senſes. That afterwards Mr. *Greatrix*, Mr. *Blackwall*, and ſome others, who would needs ſatisfy themſelves in the Influence of the Witch's Preſence, try'd it, and found it ſeveral times, altho' it was done with all poſſible Privacy, and ſo as none could think it poſſible for the Maid to know either of the Witch's coming in, or going out.

Obſervation.

Here is, as in Wenham's *Tryal, a Clergy-man evidencing againſt the Priſoner, altho' I do not hear any Reflections made upon him for ſo doing; and there are two Things very remarkable in his Teſtimony, one, that he found good Affections in the Maid in Time of Prayer; the other, that there was a ſtrange Alteration in her upon the Witch's coming into the Room. The firſt of theſe was always obſerv'd in* Anne Thorn, *who, as ſoon as recover'd out of her Fits, which was immediately upon their beginning to pray by her, always join'd in the Prayers with great Signs of Devotion and Truſt in God, and in her Intervals, ſhe was almoſt conſtantly reading or praying. There was alſo obſerv'd in her as great an Alteration upon Sight of the Witch, as in* Mary Longdon, *only it was for the better, which, as I have obſerv'd already, may be accounted for the ſame way as the others growing worſe at the Preſence of* Florence Newton.

The

The next Witneſs at the Tryal, was *Richard Magre*, Mayor of *Youghall*, who being ſworn, ſaith, That about the 24th of *March* laſt, he ſent for *Florence Newton*, and examin'd her about the Maid, and ſhe at firſt deny'd it, and accus'd Goody *Halfpenny* and Goody *Dod*, but at Length, when he had caus'd a Boat to be provided, and had thought to have try'd the Water-Experiment on them all three, then *Flowrence Newton* confeſs'd, that ſhe had overlook'd the Maid, and done her Wrong with a Kiſs; for which ſhe was heartily ſorry, and pray'd God to forgive her. Then he likewiſe examin'd the other two Women, *Halfpenny* and *Dod*, but they utterly deny'd it, and were content to abide any Tryal; whereupon he caus'd *Dod*, *Halfpenny*, and *Florence* to be carry'd to the Maid; and he told her, theſe two Women, or one of them, were ſaid by Gammar *Newton* to have done her Hurt. But ſhe anſwer'd, *No, no, they are honeſt Women, but it is Gammar* Newton *that hurts me, and I believe ſhe is not far off.* That then they afterwards brought in *Newton* privately, and then ſhe fell into a moſt violent Fit, ready to be ſtrangl'd, 'till the Witch was remov'd; and this for three ſeveral Times. He farther depoſeth, That there were three Aldermen in *Youghall*, whoſe Children ſhe had kiſs'd, as he had heard them affirm, and that all the Children dy'd preſently after; and as to the ſending to *Cork* to have the Bolts put on, he ſwears as is formerly depos'd.

Obſervation.

Thus the Reader may find, p. 16 *and* 17 *of the above-mention'd Account, that* Jane Wenham *accus'd three Women of* Walkerne, *who were brought before Sir* Henry Chauncy; *and while he was examining* Jane Wenham *concerning them,* Anne Thorn *fell into a Fit, and every one of theſe three Women were brought to her, and touch'd her, but ſhe ſeem'd not to perceive them in the leaſt. Then* Jane Wenham *was privately brought to her, and touch'd her, and ſhe ſprung up immediately as uſual; and afterwards ſhe ſaid ſhe could not ſay any Thing againſt theſe Women, who were thereupon diſcharg'd. It is really very remarkable to ſee theſe two Caſes agree in ſo many minute Circumſtances, inſomuch, that the one Story ſeems to be only an Imitation of the other: And yet I can ſay, to my certain Knowledge, that all theſe Things were done before this Tryal of* Florence Newton *was taken Notice of by any concern'd in the Proſecution of* Jane Wenham.

To proceed.

Joſeph Thomſon being ſworn, ſaid, That he went in *March* laſt with *Roger Hawkins*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others, to the Priſon, to confer with *Florence Newton* about the Maid, but ſhe would confeſs nothing that Time: But towards Night there was a Noiſe at the Priſon-Door, as if ſomething had ſhook the Door, and *Florence* ſtarted up, and ſaid, *What aileth thee to be here at this Time of the Night?* and there was much Noiſe. And they ask'd her what ſhe ſpoke to? and what made the great Noiſe? But ſhe deny'd that ſhe ſpake, or that ſhe knew of any Noiſe, and ſaid, *If I ſpoke, I ſaid I knew not what.* And they went their ways that Time, and went to her again the next Night, and ask'd her very ſeriouſly about the laſt Night's Paſſage, and the Noiſe. And then ſhe confeſs'd to them, that it was a Greyhound that came to her, and that ſhe had ſeen it formerly, and that it went out at the Window. And then ſhe confeſs'd, that ſhe had done the Maid wrong, for which ſhe was ſorry, and deſir'd God to forgive her.

This was the moſt material Evidence againſt *Florence Newton*, for bewitching *Mary Longdon*. She was alſo indicted for bewitching to Death one *David Jones*, by kiſſing his Hand thro' the Priſon-Gate; but this no way reſembling *Wenham*'s Caſe, I refer the Reader to the Relation it ſelf, at the End of Mr. *Glanvill*'s *Sadduciſmus Triumphatus*. One Thing only I ſhall take Notice of to him, that the Author of the Advertiſement annex'd to it, ſaith, That he conceiveth this Relation to be taken out of a Copy of an authentick Record, every half Sheet having *W. Aſton* writ in the Margent, and *W. Aſton* at the End, whom he ſuppoſes to be ſome Publick Notary, or Record-Keeper. He adds this Witch of *Youghall* is ſo famous, that he hath heard Mr. *Greatrix* ſpeak of her at my Lord *Conway*'s at *Ragley*. And for my own Part, I hope the ſurprizing Agreement of this Story with *Jane Wenham*'s, will ſufficiently juſtify my inſerting it here.

A short ANSWER *to the principal Objections made, first, Against the Being and Power of Witches in general: And secondly, The Case of* Jane Wenham *in particular.*

AFter a Relation of Matter of Fact so very strange, and yet so well attested, as the Account of the Sorceries and Enchantments of *Jane Wenham*, I thought fit, in order to satisfy some well-meaning Men, who have imbib'd a strong Prejudice against the Being of Witches, to set before them the principal Objections against it; and in as clear a Method as I can, to shew the Emptiness of those noisy Exceptions made against the Prosecutors of *Jane Wenham*, as if they attempted to take away a poor Woman's Life, for a Crime that she cannot, if she would, be guilty of. But before I do this, I must premise, that nothing here alledg'd, is intended to convince those that deny the Being of *Spirits in general*, and in Consequence the *Immateriality* of *Human Souls*, and the *Existence* of a *God*. I don't pretend, by this plain Narrative, to convince *Atheists*, but refer 'em to the many excellent Authors that have treated on those noble Subjects, and shall here suppose my Reader to believe both the Being of a God, and the Truth of the holy Scriptures; and such a one I desire only to attend with Impartiality, while I endeavour to remove his Scruples.

In order to which, it is necessary, in the first Place, to fix the Meaning of the Word *Witch*; by which I mean *One, who, by open or secret League, consenteth to use the Aid and Assistance of an evil Spirit, in working Wonders beyond the ordinary Power of Nature.* By Wonders I do not mean *Miracles*, which can only be done by divine Power; but *strange Things*, preter-natural, not super-natural. The *Hebrew* Word [*Mecasseph*] is translated by the *Septuagint* φαρμακὸς, which signifies *Veneficus*, in the vulgar *Latin Maleficus*,

Maleficus, altho' Dr. *Moore* saith from *Aben Ezra*, That the proper Signification of that Word, is one *qui mutat & transformat Res naturales ad Aspectum Oculi*. Take it in either of these Significations, or in both, it comes within the Definition of a Witch just laid down, as do all those other Words for a Sorcerer, which you find put together in the 18th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, Ver. 10, 11. *There shall not be found among you any one that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchantor, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with a familiar Spirit, or a Necromancer.* All these Words imply doing or telling something wonderful, by Virtue of a Confederacy with an evil Spirit. The Word φαρμακὸς does also imply the making Use of natural Means, such as Herbs, Ointments, *&c.* to do strange Things withal, by the Assistance of their confederate Spirit. All these, I say, are so many Names for a Witch, who may have several Properties more than any one of these Names intimates; for which Reason they seem to be put all together in this Command of God to his People, not to suffer any such Persons among them.

Having thus fix'd the Meaning of the Word, I come to the first general Objection made against the Being of Witches, which is this:

Obj. 1. That the Actions ascrib'd to Witches, are impossible in their own Nature to be done by Man, and very ridiculous.

Answ. That there are indeed many Circumstances in the Stories of Witches, very strange and unaccountable, I readily allow; and farther, that they are impossible to be perform'd by Man, without the Assistance of some other Power: But then this very Thing is a strong Argument, that there is really the Assistance of some Spirit actually employ'd in doing these Wonders. If I see, for Instance, as in the Case of *Anne Thorn*, a poor lame Creature, that the Minute before could scarce creep on the Ground; if I see her on the Sudden start up, and run with a most prodigious Swiftness, and nimbly vault over a Five-Bar Gate. When I see this, I say, I am ready enough to believe it could not ordinarily be done; but then, for that very Reason I ascribe it to the Power of the Devil; so that the seeming Impossibility of the Thing, proves it to be done by Witchcraft: And in such Cases all depends on the Strength and Credibility of the Evidence, as to Matter of Fact.

Fact. But certainly 'tis a very wild way of Arguing, to conclude, that becauſe a Thing which is ſworn by ſeveral and credible Eye-witneſſes, is ſtrange and unaccountable, nay, impoſſible to be perform'd by Man alone, that therefore it muſt be falſe, and never done at all. At this Rate no Man muſt believe his Senſes, and conſequently all the Teſtimony of Miracles to the Truth of the Goſpel, falls to the Ground. Ought not rather every wiſe and diſcerning Man, at the Sight of ſuch wonderful Things, immediately to apply himſelf to diſcover, whether the Thing may not, in its own Nature, imply no Contradiction, but be, altho' above the Power of Man, yet within that of ſome *other immaterial Agent*; and by other Circumſtances to diſcover what that Agent is, whether a good Angel, or an evil Spirit?

We ought in theſe Caſes carefully to diſtinguiſh between what is impoſſible in its own Nature, and conſequently implies a Contradiction; and what may be done, altho' we cannot conceive the *Modus* of it; which ſhews indeed the Weakneſs of human Underſtanding, and the Imperfection and Short-ſightedneſs of our Apprehenſions; but is no more an Argument againſt the Reality of ſuch Performances, than it is againſt the Truth of this Propoſition, *The Fœtus is really form'd in the Womb of a Woman*, becauſe we know not the Manner how it is ſo form'd. Methinks it ſavours too much of Pride and Conceitedneſs, for a Man to exalt his own Opinion above the cleareſt Teſtimony and plaineſt Demonſtrations of Fact; and to chuſe rather to give the Lie to all the World, than believe a Thing beyond the Reach of his narrow Conceptions.

As for Things of this Nature being ridiculous; if thoſe who cannot underſtand, and therefore will not believe them, are reſolv'd to turn 'em into Ridicule, who can help it? It neither detracts from the Truth nor Credibility of any Matter of Fact, that ſome, who are wiſe in their own Conceits, make a Jeſt of it. This only proceeds from a conceited Ignorance, the Cenſure or Applauſes of which are equally below a wiſe Man's Regard. So that, in ſhort, the Anſwer to this Objection, comes to this, That unleſs it can be prov'd that thoſe things are impoſſible to be done by any Power whatſoever, *that of Spirits not excepted*, this Objection can be of no Force againſt the Teſtimony of our Senſes, or that of credible Eye-witneſſes to *Matter of Fact.*

Obj. 2. It is very improbable that a Spirit of such Wisdom and Power as the Devil, should stoop so low as to submit to be at the Command of a silly old Woman, and run up and down to execute her petty Revenge.

Answ. That there are Orders and Degrees of evil Spirits, is not at all improbable; and, upon this Supposition, it will not be absolutely necessary, to put the *Prince of Darkness himself* upon these little servile Employments; but we may well enough ascribe it to one of his inferior Agents. It is also the Opinion of some learned and ingenious Men, that the Familiars of Witches, may be the departed human Souls of some wicked and malicious Men, possess'd with an insatiable Thirst after Mischief, which by the *Laws* and *Capacity* of their *Condition*, they may not be capable of executing themselves; these may be employ'd in some of the meanest Services of the Kingdom of Hell. We know that the Souls of good Men, in a separate State, are said to be ἰσάγγελοι, or in a like Condition with the blessed Angels; and why then may not the Souls of evil Men be also ἰσοδαίμονες, in the worst Sense of the World, in a Condition or State like that of the infernal Angels? And what if we should farther suppose many of these Witches Imps, to be the departed Souls of some that have been Witches themselves! I see nothing unreasonable in this Conjecture; which if allow'd, a still more probable Account may still be given of some of the most vile and mean Performances of such Spirits; altho' all the greater Wonders of Witchcraft, such as raising Storms and Tempests, and the like, are undoubtedly done by the Devil himself, that *God of this World*, and *Prince of the Power of the Air*. I urge farther, that supposing these Familiars to be really *Devils*, that is, such *Spirits* as had before their Fall been *Angels of Light*; yet still the only Difficulty here objected, comes to this, That the greatest Degree of Wickedness is also the most abject Baseness, and vilest Slavery. And how this can be of any Force against Matter of Fact, and the clearest Testimony, I leave to the Judgment of any sensible and impartial Reader. I come now to a more specious Objection.

Obj. 3. It is inconsistent with the Providence of God, to permit the Power of Witches to hurt the Innocent; such as Children, who are most subject to be bewitch'd.

Answ. Suppose I should bring an Argument against the Providence of Almighty God, from the *other* Dangers and Violences

Violences that Children are expos'd to, either from Accident, or Cruelty of their Neighbours; and upon Sight of a murder'd Child, ſhould exclaim againſt the *Juſtice* of *Heaven*, for not miraculouſly protecting it againſt the Barbarity of its inhuman Butcher: Should I not immediately be reprimanded for murmuring againſt God, and forgetting the many and wonderful Preſervations of others? Should I not be put in Mind, that conſidering the Weakneſs of that State, it is rather wonderful that there ſhould be ſo *few* Inſtances of this Kind, than that there ſhould be *any*? Juſt ſo it is in this Caſe, conſidering the Power, the Number, and implacable Malice of evil Spirits, it is only owing to the Care of Providence over us, that there are ſo *few* of us ſubject to their Power; and if ſome Witches are permitted to hurt now and then one of their innocent Neighbours, it is certainly for ſome wiſe and good End that they are ſo permitted; ſuch as perhaps the Diſcovery of the Witches themſelves, the convincing of an Unbeliever, or ſome other wiſe Reaſon, which lies hidden from our Sight among the unfathomable Depths and Myſteries of Providence; againſt the Being or Juſtice of which it is no more an Argument, than the unequal Diſtributions of Good and Evil in this Life, the Ignorance and Barbarity of the much greateſt Part of the World, and the many Perils and Dangers we are all daily ſubject to. And if it be not a concluding Argument againſt the very Being of Providence, it cannot be ſufficient to take away the Evidence of Senſe in Matters of Fact.

Obj. 4. It is alſo objected, that the Strength of Melancholly, and Force of Imagination, aſcribes any ſtrange Event to Sorcery and Witchcraft, which is the more ſuſpicious, becauſe the Perſons accus'd, are generally poor old Women; and thoſe afflicted, are, for the moſt Part, either Children, or weak ignorant People, that are eaſily impos'd upon.

Anſw. That the Power of Fancy is very great, may eaſily be acknowledg'd; and, yet, I muſt needs ſay, it requires more *Credulity* to believe, that ſo many and ſo clear Circumſtances of Fact, as, for Inſtance, the Conveyance of Pins through the Air into the Hands of a Perſon when they are ty'd down, or the finding of very curious and artificial Cakes of Feathers in a Pillow but a little before ſtuff'd with Down, and other the like ſtrange Things, to

be all but the Work of Fancy, and that forty or fifty Spectators ſhould be all, juſt at the ſame Time, impos'd upon by the ſame *chimerical* Imaginations: This, I ſay, requires more Credulity to believe, than all the Stories of Witchcraft put together. At this Rate, no Man can tell when or how to believe what he ſees or hears; and it puts an End to the Credit of all human Teſtimony whatſoever. As for the Reaſon, why *ſilly old Women* ſhould generally enter into theſe Combinations with the Devil, it is probable, that the Devil takes Advantage of this their *Ignorance and Poverty*; eſpecially, if accompany'd with a malicious Mind, and a Cuſtom of invoking the Devil in Curſes and Imprecations, as in the Caſe of *Jane Wenham*; and that thus he more effectually ſecures their Souls to him for ever, and puts them, as far as poſſible, from any Likelihood of making their Peace with God by Repentance. However, there is nothing more to be concluded from this Part of the Objection, than that the *Policy* of *Hell* is unknown to us, which cannot deſtroy the *clear Evidence of Matter of Fact.*

Obj. 5. Another Objection is, That ſince the Times of the Goſpel, there can be no Witches, becauſe our Saviour Chriſt *came to deſtroy the Works of the Devil*; and it is notorious, that he is driven from his Temples, and all his Oracles are ſtruck dumb; from whence it is probable, that he has no longer the Power he once had to aſſiſt his Servants in working Wonders.

Anſw. The Scriptures do more than once expreſly mention *Witches and Sorcerers*, ſince the Time of our Saviour Chriſt, witneſs that noted Place in the 5th Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, Verſe the 20th. Beſides which, the Story of *Simon Magus* alone might ſufficiently confute this Objection, who work'd ſuch Wonders, that he deceiv'd many: *He*, ſays the Author of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, c. 8. v. 9. us'd *Sorcery*, and *bewitch'd the People of Samaria*; and yet all the ſtrange Things he did, were done by the aſſiſting Power of the Devil; ſo that ſome Time after our Saviour's Aſcenſion, this Power did remain to the great Deceiver; and I believe the Objectors will find it more difficult, than at firſt Sight it appears, to fix any Period of Time when this Power of Satan ceas'd. If they ſay it was, when he was driven from his Temples and his Altars, pray let 'em tell me when was that? Or are they

ſure

ſure that ever there was ſuch a Time? Does not the Devil ſtill retain ſuch a Dominion over the Minds of whole Nations in *America*, and other Parts of the World, that they erect Temples to him, and fall down before him, worſhipping him as a *God?* And why this Part only of the Devil's Power, which conſiſts in making *Compacts*, and entering into Covenants with ſuch wretched Creatures as *Witches* are, ſhould be taken from him, and all the reſt left intirely to him, I muſt profeſs my ſelf not able to imagine.

Beſides, there is one ugly Conſequence from this Objection, which I believe few of thoſe foreſee that have it ſo often in their Mouths, which is this: If from the Silence of Oracles, and the Extirpation of Idolatry, it may be concluded, that the Devil is alſo forc'd to leave off all Communication and Correſpondence with ſuch vile profligate Perſons as Witches; no Reaſon can be given, why from the ſame *Topicks* it may not as well be collected, that he is alſo put from his *nearer* Temples *within* us, and unable any longer by his Temptations to ſeduce Mankind to eternal Ruin. There is as great a Congruity of one Conſequence with the Premiſes, as of the other; tho', I muſt needs ſay, they can neither of them be prov'd by any Logick I ever yet met with. I ſhall only urge farther againſt this Objection, two other Places in the New Teſtament, wherein Sorcerers are expreſly *mention'd, and ſeverely threaten'd. The firſt is,* Revel. 21. 8. *But the Fearful and Unbelieving, and the Abominable, and Murderers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolaters, and all Lyars, ſhall have their Part in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimſtone; which is the ſecond Death.* The other is in the laſt Chapter of the *Revelations*, v. 15. *For* without *are Dogs, and Sorcerers, and Whore-mongers*, &c. Here you ſee no leſs than Fire and Brimſtone in one Place, and perpetual *Excluſion* from the holy City, the New *Jeruſalem*, in the other, expreſly denounc'd againſt Sorcerers, who are reckon'd among the vileſt Offenders, and moſt profligate Sinners, ſuch as *Murderers* and *Idolaters*. Now, what a Jeſt is it to ſuppoſe the Scriptures all this while *fighting with a Shadow*, and threatening Damnation to thoſe who ſhall be guilty of a Crime impoſſible to be committed? If this is not ridiculing the Word of God, I know not what is.

Obj. 6. I ſhall mention but one Objection more againſt the Being of Witches in general, which is ſuch a one as I would willingly have omitted, on Account of its horrid Profaneneſs, were I not too well ſatisfy'd, that 'tis often made Uſe of among thoſe who call themſelves *Chriſtians*; it is this: If we believe Witches can do Wonders by the Help of the Devil, how ſhall we know that the Miracles of our Saviour were not alſo the Effects of a *Diabolical Impoſture?*

Anſ. To this Objection, the beſt Anſwer will be in our Saviour's own Words to the unbelieving Phariſees, Matt. 12. 26. *If Satan caſt out Satan, he is divided againſt himſelf, how then ſhall his Kingdom ſtand?* The Deſign of our Redeemer's coming into the World, was to deſtroy the Kingdom of Satan, to preach Repentance and Salvation to Sinners, and to ſhew us the Way to eternal Life; how then could the Miracles of Chriſt be attributed to the Power of Satan, which he came to pull down?

It ought farther to be conſider'd, that the wonderful Works of the bleſſed Jeſus were truly *Miracles*, that is, above the Power of any created Being (that of the Devil himſelf not excepted) to effect; ſuch as raiſing one from the Dead, who had been really dead ſo long, that thoſe of his Relations, who had bury'd him, ſuppos'd that *by this Time he ſtink'd*, Joh. 11. 39. And what was moſt wonderful of all, raiſing himſelf the third Day. Beſides, the Miracles of Chriſt were all full of Love and Charity, ſuch as healing the Sick, giving Sight to the Blind, Food to the Hungry in a Deſart, *&c.* Whereas nothing but Spite, Envy, and Malice, appears in the ſtrange Things done by theſe Confederates of Satan, the End and Deſign of them being to torment and hurt their Neighbours. The Miracles of our Saviour bear upon them the cleareſt Marks of the Finger of God of Mercy; whereas the Wonders done by Witches and Sorcerers, do plainly indicate a Helliſh and Diabolical Malice. Thoſe who are ſo forward to raiſe this Objection upon every Occaſion, would do well ſeriouſly to conſider what that Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt is, *for which there is no Repentance.* This was, in the Opinion of the moſt learned Divines, nothing but the *attributing the Miracles of Chriſt to the Power of the Devil*; and let them have a Care leſt they alſo come near the Commiſſion of that *dreadful Sin.*

I have

I have now done with the principal of those Objections, that are commonly rais'd against the Being and Power of Witches in general; I come now very briefly to speak a Word or two to those which are more particularly urg'd against the Case of *Jane Wenham*.

And first, 'tis objected, that her Confession might be the Effect of Fear; or if it was not, she might accuse her self falsely, only to be out of the World: That there have been Instances of this Nature, where discontented Persons have confess'd themselves guilty of capital Crimes whereof they were innocent, only to be rid of their Troubles by Death.

I answer, as to the first Part of this Objection, That the Confession of *Jane Wenham* was free and unconstrain'd, no Force having been us'd to bring her to it; for the Truth of which, as I said before, p. 33. of the Account, *&c.* we appeal to Mr. *Archer* of *Sandon*, her near Kinsman, who was present, when she confess'd that she liv'd above sixteen Years in a Course of Witchcraft.

As for the other Suggestion, That possibly her Discontents might make her falsely accuse herself, to be out of the World, I allow, that in some Cases this Consideration may have its Weight. As for Instance; Suppose a Man who labours under very great Troubles and Afflictions, and is known to be discontented, and weary of his Life, should voluntarily come before a Magistrate, and accuse himself of a capital Crime, and desire that the Punishment of Death may be inflicted on him for it; and this, when there are no other Circumstances by which it may be thought probable that he did commit this Crime: In such a Case as this, a discontented Man's Confession alone, I must needs say, I think ought not to convict him. But this is quite another Case, and widely different from that of *Jane Wenham*. Here were very violent Presumptions against her, long before her Confession, which only serv'd the more strongly to prove what had been before alledg'd; and indeed so strong was the Evidence against her, that many have been convicted upon weaker Proofs, without any Confession at all; so that here is all the Reason in the World to believe her Confession. It is the Opinion of Mr. *Perkins*, in his Treatise of Witchcraft, p. 212. *That when Proceeding is made against a Man at first upon good Probabilities, and he is thereupon drawn to a free Confession, that which*

which he hath manifeſted thereby, cannot but be a Truth. So I am ſure it is reckon'd in other Caſes, as Murders, Theſts, and other ſuch Crimes; and why it ſhould not be ſo in the Caſe of *Witchcraft*, I can ſee no Manner of Reaſon. If there be a Robbery committed, and a Man taken up for it upon ſtrong Suſpicions, that Man, if he confeſſes, ſhall, by ſuch a Confeſſion, be more ſtrongly convicted; and, by Parity of Reaſon, if a Woman, upon violent Preſumptions, is accus'd of Witchcraft, her Confeſſion ought to be taken as a ſtrong Confirmation of the Evidence brought againſt her.

Obj. 2. It is alſo objected, That one Part of *Anne Thorn's* Information, in which ſhe ſays, that a Cat ſpoke to her, is very ridiculous and incredible.

Anſw. Is it more ridiculous and incredible, that an evil Spirit ſhould aſſume the Shape of a Cat, and in ſuch a Shape ſpeak ſo as to be heard and underſtood, than that the Devil ſhould ſpeak to *Eve* in the Shape of a Serpent? Which we are oblig'd to believe upon the Credit of Divine Revelation. 'Tis the Opinion of the pious and profoundly learn'd Mr. *Mede*, p. 223 and 224 of his Works, 'That *there is a Law in the Commerce of Spirits and Men, that a* Spirit *muſt preſent himſelf under the Shape of ſome viſible Thing:* And he ſuppoſes farther, that as Spirits 'are to converſe with Men under ſome viſible Shape; *ſo there is a Law given them, that it muſt be under the Shape of ſome ſuch Thing, as may more or leſs reſemble their Condition.* From whence he concludes, that good Angels can take upon 'em no other Shape, but that of Man, the moſt excellent of all viſible Creatures; and therefore he ſays an Angel is ſaid to appear, in the Goſpel, like a *young Man, his Countenance like Lightning, and his Rayment white as Snow*, as it were reſembling Man in his glorious State before the Fall.

He ſuppoſes alſo, that while Man was in his Integrity, the Devil could not appear in an *human* Shape, but was forc'd to take up with that of a *Beaſt*, tho' the moſt *ſubtil* and *ſagacious* one of all the Beaſts of the Field. But now indeed the Caſe is alter'd, *Man* being alſo fallen, and one falling Star (ſays he) may reſemble another; and therefore he ſometimes appears in the Shape of *Man* in his Imperfection, like a *deform'd old* Man.

Now, upon the like Suppoſition, why may not a wretched Spirit appear in the Shape of one of the meaneſt of the

the *Brute Beasts*? There is no Shape too base and vile to represent one of those miserable Spirits, fallen for ever from *God* and *Goodness*, and become one of the vilest Slaves in the *Regions* of *Darkness*. As for the Truth of the Matter of Fact, it is too well confirm'd by the unhappy Experience of the two poor Sufferers, *Anne Thorn* and *Anne Street*, who almost every Day continue to see and hear this evil Spirit tempting and tormenting them in the Shape of a Cat.

Having now answer'd the most material Objections against Witchcraft, and this Case in particular, I submit the whole to the Reader's impartial Judgment; and as for those who are resolv'd to remain Unbelievers, and therefore will be very ready to start frivolous Objections, and ask impertinent Questions, I shall take no Manner of Notice of them, unless they will first make it appear, that a rational Account can be given of the whole Course of *Anne Thorn*'s and *Anne Street*'s Disorder, without ascribing it to the Witchcrafts of *Jane Wenham*.

I shall conclude all, with producing the Judgment of the learned Arch-Bishop *Tillotson* upon the following Text; which, I hope, will have some Effect with those who ridiculously object it to be meant of *Witchcraft*.

" *The Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy,* " ἵνα λύσῃ, *that he might dissolve or demolish the Works* " *of the Devil*; by which St. *John* does more especially " mean *the idolatrous Worship of the Heathen*, which consisted " in the Multitude of their Gods, and the bloody and bar- " barous Rites and Sacrifices, whereby they worshipp'd " them; and likewise in the Multitude of their Media- " tors, between the Gods and Men, who were also esteem'd " by them an inferior Sort of Deities. Both these Kinds " of Idolatry had strangely prevail'd, and over-run the " World, before the Appearance of our Lord and Saviour, " who came on Purpose to deliver Mankind from the hor- " rible Superstition and Slavery of the Worship of false " Gods, to pull down this Kingdom of the Devil, and " to demolish that Fabrick which he hath been so long a " rearing, and so beat him out of those strong Holds, " which he thought had been impregnable. *See Sermon* 17. *Posthum. Fol. Vol.* 1. *Pag.* 127.

FINIS.